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[278] fast enough to break the amniotic sac. Sāi made her a medicine of mung bean and sugar, both of which wet the uterus, and murmured some magic words to help. Later she worked with her hands at the vagina, twisting the sac a bit to break it. Suddenly the sac ruptured.

[789] Now the child was almost there. The head showed well. Sāi sat down directly in front of Dūan to do the pressing herself. With one hand she held or gently pulled on the baby, with the other she pressed on the abdomen with every contraction. As she started in, she said magic words. She worked for an hour--no midwife would press more than that--until at last the child was out. A little boy! With her finger Sāi removed the blood from his mouth, and puckered out the lips. Breathing was slow in coming, so she shook him vigorously, then laid him down. Quickly she chewed up an onion and spit it over his body. "Ah-h-h!" A cry, though not very strong! Seeing the new baby appear, Chai, who up to then had been constantly near his mother, rushed precipitously from the house, and refused to come in for hours, in spite of Song and Lek's coaxing.

[787] Everyone had observed an auspicious circumstance: the cord was looped around the baby's neck! This imitation of the holy cord (pongkhon) placed around head and neck in Brahman rites of passage was a rare and good sign. "A cord looped thus could never kill a baby," someone said.

Since the placenta was slow in coming, Sāi prepared to cut the cord while Dūan rested and sipped the fiery snake brand medicine. Depending on circumstances she might cut it before or after the placenta was out. Taking a rhizome of phlai (Mcf. 604), a traditional healing root, she laid it on a clod of soil brought in from outside. From one of the old bamboo house beams, someone had sliced with a knife a sharp-edged, tapering sliver to serve as a cutter. The cord was stroked 3 times, starting near the baby's stomach "to remove the dirt." Then "something that is in the umbilical cord" was pushed back towards the baby's stomach "to prevent a flow of blood." She measured the cord from the baby's abdomen to his knee, and tied off 2 places in it with the holy cord (unspun cotton cord used ordinarily in rituals). Laying the part between the 2 knots on the phlai on its bed of soil, and saying her magic "u'nyan a san pa nō," she cut the cord with the bamboo cutter. With a chicken feather which had to come "from the mother's yard," she collected a few spider webs from the rafters, mixed them with coconut oil, and painted them around and on the cord-stump, also "to stop the blood-flow." While doing this, Sāi said, "One midwife I know severs the cord by tying it with the thread at 3 places, then burns it with a flame."

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885 deprived a man of his masculine strength but was expected to
 793 change him into a kind and merciful being.⁵⁸ It took at least
 562 a three month season (phansa) in the priesthood to make a man
 785 mature, responsible, and effective. That this moral fitness
 • [798] was not obtained overnight was given vivid illustration: if a
 789 Buddha Amulet, designed for invulnerability, failed to be effective
 885 when tested by having a gun fired at it, it was "sometimes
 jokingly dismissed as a monk (phra) who has just been ordained
 (buat mai)" (Textor:529). This interesting episode illuminates
 one other important result achieved by both men and women in
 their respective maturation rites: authorization to handle
 magic.

Magic and Maturity

In Bang Chan, magic was powerful. Whatever the purpose, whether beneficial or nefarious, it was effective if all conditions were met. Lest such power fall into unscrupulous hands, the community limited its availability and use to those who had gained the moral qualities and fitness to handle it wisely. Only the ritually mature could be counted on to be compassionate, strong, responsible adults, and so were permitted access to occult powers. Whether by ordination or the fire-rest, to be suk was an absolute prerequisite to magical knowledge. It did not give magical power, but qualified one to seek it out. Since no career in medicine was possible without magic, no man could be a mo who had not been previously ordained.

789 The uses of magic by men had entirely different objectives
 562 from those of women. Their respective fields did not

58. "A monk was changed...to be meek and mild." By seeking his morning alms he "show(s) mercy towards creatures" (prōt sat) (Anuman Rajadon:76-77). Women's tenderness in their maternal function was not associated with shyness. A compassionate woman with a strong winyān soul (which projected the quality of the heart) was enterprising and effective (cf. J.R. Hanks, 1959). Where sexual characteristics were confused, instability in behavior appeared. The cultural expectation was that children and women were delicate (ōn), older people and men were hard (khaang). "A male who is easily induced to convulse is one who had a 'soft' heart (ōhai ōn).: ...and also a 'soft' khwan (khwan ōn). Such a young man is excitable rather than predictable and dependable, and hence is cause for parental anxiety" (Textor:405).

759 In these 2 qualifications of skill and success, some of the explicitly non-professional old ladies were recognized as easily matching the professionals. What then was the definition of a professional midwife?

759 What the professional midwives alone did was to deliver non-kin, for which they had to have magical formulae and reliable celestial knowledge. The incantations gave a midwife the right to be called a *mō tamvān*, for he or she was using to a greater or lesser extent the sacred wisdom of occultism (*saivassāt*). Here midwifery was like any other craft or endeavor. One could cure, sing, and build a boat without magic, but with it, the chances of success and effectiveness were increased. The incantations could "ease delivery," "get a baby out that had died inside" (for this baby could no longer do his part), "prevent the poison of the fire from burning the mother," and give other special help. That this magic was the crucial difference between the professional and non-professional was illustrated by the old lady who had delivered 30 babies, but vehemently⁶⁷ denied being a midwife. "I am not a professional. I have no magic. I only pray to the Lord Buddha and think of sacred things each time."

759 A professional also had more detailed astrological knowledge of the orientations of relevant celestial beings so that delivery would be "helped and not obstructed." This knowledge was in no way a professional secret, but if complications during childbirth were evident, it was necessary to have accuracy, and convenient that the midwife had it.

759 To certain villagers the designation "professional" could not be applied to women because, never having been ordained, they had not learned to read, as men supposedly had, not only Thai but Pali and Cambodian, the languages of medical and magical lore. "A professional midwife has a book. No woman can become professional because she cannot read." The idea was that incantations were correct only if taken from the sacred texts at the temple, though in fact the formulae were taught orally. One male midwife had a sacred book in his private possession, which was proper, for

sacred books were inherited by males.

67. Her vehemence may reflect either pride in being so successful without magic--a true *lāng dī*--fear of being reported as unlicensed (see below, p. 145); or consternation lest she be accused of using magic to which she was not entitled.

262 people did not want to spend much on a baby, therefore they
261 said that if a child ate too much "with-rice" he would be
potbellied but thin in the upper part of the body, and that
eating eggs would cause dental caries. This grandfather
said he believed the truth to be just the opposite, but that
goods things were expensive. As an illustration of the idea
that thrift was the basis of restriction of "with-rice,"
one young mother said that an egg was regarded as equivalent
to one (1)plaa (1)thuu (fish), and was enough for two per-
sons. Sometimes one egg would serve an entire family. She
said that a child would be punished if he ate a whole egg
at a meal.

262 Secondly, Chutima suggests that particular foods were
associated with, or suitable for, particular age levels, and
a given sex. Data obtained in Bang Chan indicate that cer-
tain foods were associated with conditions such as pregnancy,
lactation, and the puerperium, with occupation, and even
553 socio-economic levels. For infants, breast milk was con-
sidered most suitable. The newborn infant was not usually
put to the mother's breast for about 3 days after birth, and
if a relative or neighbor did not nurse the infant, the small
banana called (3)kluaaj (4)nam-(4)waa (see p. 46), raw or
baked, was crushed and fed to him before his mother's milk
was available. This banana and rice, as (3)khaaw (3)tom and
(3)khaaw (2)ping (two watery preparations), sometimes crushed
with (3)kluaaj (4)nam-(4)waa, were always the first solid foods
introduced while the infant was breast fed. No other foods
were introduced early. Some infants received fish and egg by
6 months of age, and a majority ate these foods by the time
they were a year old. Some two year olds had not yet been
given vegetables, and very few infants ate them before they
were one year old.

855 Giving of "holy food"¹ to children suggests concern for
• [776] strengthening children through dietary as well as other ritual
means.

262 At the other end of life, as old age approached, the
888 diet was supposed to change, ideally to a completely vege-
tarian one. Since one was soon to face death, one gave up
eating meat and even fish, if possible, so as to avoid taking
life. It was considered pitiful or wrong for an old person
to fish. Being able to go without food was associated with
merit. Those who stayed overnight at the temple on the Budd-
hist holy day went without solid food from before noon until
the next morning as the priests did. One elderly woman re-
marked that when she stayed overnight at the temple she did
not feel hungry, and did not eat anything at night, but other
women, feeling hungry, drank coffee or milk at night. She

1. See p. 50.

114 status differences and the looseness of social ties loom considerably in Bang
 * 156 Chan probably makes for some other structural variations.²² However, as
 171 stated below, Foster's formulation applies almost perfectly to Bang Chan
 571 (1173-1176):

The model appears to account for the nature of interaction between people of the same socio-economic status, between people of different statuses, between fellow villagers, between villagers and outsiders, and perhaps between man and supernatural beings as well. Although my analysis deals only with Tzintzuntzan, I think the model will prove useful for other societies with similar structural features . . .

Briefly it is hypothesized that every adult organizes his social contacts . . . by means of a special form of contractual relationship. These contracts are informal, or implicit, since they lack ritual or legal basis. [This is not completely true for Bang Chan. There is, for example, a special "Teachers' Day," sanctioned by the national government, set aside for honoring teachers, and thus providing ritualistic reinforcement to the contract.] They are not based on any idea of law, and they are unenforceable through authority; *they exist only at the pleasure of the contractants*. The contracts are dyadic in that they occur only between two people; three or more individuals are not brought together. The contracts are noncorporate, since social units such as villages, *barrios*, or extended families cannot truly be said to enter contractual relations with other families, although spouses often honor the obligations inherent in each other's contracts.

The implicit dyadic contract is made between members of a family as close as siblings [and in Bang Chan, as close as husband and wife, and parents and children] . . . ; and it unites neighbors and friends. Contracts are found between social and economic equals within Tzintzuntzan or with similar people in other communities. And they are found between people (or beings) of different status and category, as on those few occasions when outside political leaders or economic patrons have ties with villagers and when a villager invokes the aid of the Virgin Mary or a saint. [In Bang Chan, a functional equivalent of the latter would be when villagers propitiate the *caw*, or Spirit Lord, who resides in the *San Phra Phuum*, or house of the Guardian Spirit of the home. This is a replica of a house, about the size of a bird cage, located in every house lot in Bang Chan. The offering of rice and flowers to the *caw* is explicitly a form of payment to him for the use

²² A second paper on Tzintzuntzan (Foster 1963) indicates that there are some crucial motivational differences as well, viz., Bang Chaners enter into dyadic contracts with a much greater sense of freedom than do Tzintzuntzeños. Their attitude is both more cavalier and cold-blooded than the Mexican peasant who feels that if he is to exist, he has no choice but to enter into these contracts. The Bang Chaner is animated by a sense of personal advantage; the Tzintzuntzeño by a sense of passive participation in a system he cannot change.